the several Comanche bands which resided on the the eastern limits of New Mexico. 175 648 728

Anza was aided in his task by the immense prestige he enjoyed among the Indians. His reputation he owed to the destruction of a large Comanche camp in southeastern Colorado in 1779 and to the slaying at the same time of the prominent war chief Cuerno Verde. Governor Anza, in fact, succeeded in establishing peace with the Comanches by February of 1786 and at the same time in enlisting their aid in the continuing struggle with hostile Apaches in the south.

At the peace gathering were represented the principal bands of the Western Comanches, including the Yamparikas, and Yupes or Jupes, who were probably identical with the group known later as the Kwaharis. Some members of another band, the Kotsotekas, often called Cuchanticas or Cuchanecs, were also present. The Spaniards themselves during the last quarter of the eighteenth century were uncertain as to the divisions within the tribe. For example, the authorities in Texas usually considered the Kotsotekas as Eastern Comanches (*Orientales*) along with the Penatekas or Honey-Eaters (known to the Anglo-Americans later as the Wasp Band). 175 648 728 101 175 101

The Western Comanches, who agreed to terminate hostilities against the Spanish, followed a suggestion of Governor Anza and selected one of their number, Ecueracapa or Leather Jacket, to serve as head chief with authority to speak for the tribe. To increase his stature, the Spaniards bestowed upon Ecueracapa the lofty title of "General of the Comanche Nation." As a further inducement to remain at peace, 175 728 648 [643] [431]

13: Simmons H-4 (no date) 1967 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1785-1819) New Mexico

Document Five

COMMANDANT GENERAL PEDRO DE NAVA
To Governor Fernando de la Concha
Chihuahua, December 31, 1793

I Have received the official letter from Your Lordship numbered 449 of the 19th of November in which you advised me of the impending march to attend the council which the Comanche Indians had called to meet along the Colorado River for the purpose of naming a general to replace the deceased Ecueracapa. And I received the later letter numbered 458 in which Your Lordship informs me that the election by universal approbation of the assembled rancherias fell on Captain Encanaguané, whose suitability leaves nothing to be desired, according to what Your Lordship says.

I approve all Your Lordship has done on this occasion, of that which I have been informed; and [I am also pleased] with the deference accorded Your Lordship by the Comanche Nation and the respect which you showed their new leader, and the other Indians in line who came to the council.

May God guard Your Lordship many years.

Chihuahua December 31, 1793

Pedro de Nava

Señor Fernando de la Concha

13: Simmons H-4 (no date) 1967 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1785-1819) New Mexico

Document Six

REPORT ON COMANCHE AFFAIRS BY THE Governor of New Mexico, Joaquin Real Alencaster, Santa Fe, November 20, 1805, to the Commandant General of the Interior Provinces.

I AM NOTIFYING Your Excellency that three captains of the Yamparika Comanches who formerly lived to the north but now are found along the Rio Colorado [Canadian River], have presented themselves before me, requesting four favors, the nature of which are here explained; First that I should name as generals one of their captains called Somiquaso, and another from among the Cuchanticas called Quegue so that they would have leaders.

Second, that I should clothe them and present them gifts;

Third, that citizens from this Province should go and build them houses of wood forming a plaza along the aforementioned Rio Colorado near that of the Conchas. They agree to maintain the laborers and repay them with goods for their work;

And fourth, that I should set free certain prisoners and criminals.

I agreed to appoint the general whom they had requested and he took the name Carlos. I gave them

175
648 clothes and gifts and offered to send workers to con-
[431] struct their houses if they would return for them in the spring. I denied them their fourth request.

175 Also, they asked that some should come at the first
648 of next [year] to barter for the small number of hides
439 which they had. In so far as it shall be convenient I offered to let a few [people] go and carry on trade.

[643] On giving the staff of office (*bastón*) to the [Comanche] general, I had him give his word that they would come every year to trade and I promised him justice in the exchange of [their] goods for [those of our] goods which were desired, saying that this was
175 a good way to avoid unpleasantness. With all of this
648 they went away quite content, including the women and others who had accompanied them.

These Comanches were commanded for a long time by an Indian who was very loyal to this Province and who was known as Malla (Iron Jacket). All of the above I call to the attention of Your Excellency, hoping that it merits your approval.

May God keep you. Santa Fe, 20 of November of 1805.

J. R. A. [to the] Commandant General of the Internal Provinces

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 tion of country which custom seems to have appropriated
628 to its more special use and occupancy.

621 These three great national parties, are subdivided into
622 captaincies or villages, to each of which is appointed a chief,
175 whose distinction seems to consist rather in name than authority. His name however, gives title to the flying village, and is useful in this respect, as some sign of discrimination
621 is necessary, and they can derive none from locality. These
175 subdivisions are various and contingent, each member being at liberty to withdraw from one village and unite with another, as caprice or convenience may dictate.

175 As the Comanchees do not cultivate the ground, but
221 derive their subsistence from the spontaneous productions of nature, and chiefly from the animal kingdom, they are necessarily migratory, and obliged to change their encamp-
[231] ment every ten or fifteen days. The scarcity of game, which is soon taught to avoid their dangerous neighborhood, and the speedy exhaustion of convenient pasturage, which is indispensable to the subsistence of their large herds of mules and horses, are the principal reasons for such frequent re-
175 movals. When about to abandon a position, they generally
202 fire the grass, to give intelligence of their decampment to absentees;—smoke is likewise employed as a telegraph to announce the return of a war party. It is not uncommon to see, at the same time, 8 or 10 of these signals darkening the horizon, and rearing their columns in gloomy grandeur, to the vertex of a serene and brilliant atmosphere.

175 The three parties collectively acknowledge one head or
643 grand Chief, who is selected from either party. His appointment is indefinite as to duration and extent of authority, the latter depending more on the force of his personal character, than on the investments of office. Indeed a positive
175 official authority, is not recognized in their crude system
[642] of government. They have but few traditionary laws, and
[671] these, they are not always capable of enforcing. Compulsion is seldom exercised on a refractory culprit; and when
[692] imperious circumstances require it to be done, it is effected by a convention of chiefs, whose personal influences become auxiliary to an otherwise impotent authority.

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

[ca. 1786]

175 customarily situated across the river that some call the
131 *Colorado* (Red) and others the *Rio de la Empalizada* which
133 flows to Natchitoches in order to empty into the Mississippi; from their settlements [on the Red River] they move about to the headwaters of the Brazos de Dios, which are one hundred leagues apart from one another; in this interval they are accustomed to make their residence at a place they call
175 the *Gran Salina* [Large Salt]. There they provide them-
439 selves with this commodity in order to barter with the *Taboayazes* [*Taovayas*] and *Guachitas* [*Wichitas*] who,
317 because they lack salt, esteem it very much.

175 FIFTH: What Are the Names of the Captains That
622 Govern Them?

624 The names of the captains that I have been able to acquire
[643] notice of are in the First Class, El Cota de Maya, or Camisa de Fierro[1]; the second, Cabeza Rapada. Those of the Second Class are El Lobito, El Sorrillo, Guiracaraco, El Guaguanguas, La Boca Partida, El Español, El Surdo, and El Manco. I have not been able to inquire the names of the other three or four who are of the second class.

SIXTH. What Distinguished Those in Authority?

[643] The chiefs with the most authority and following known among the Eastern Comanche Indians are in the first class, el Camisa de Fierro, or Cota de Maya, and in the second, la Cabeza Rapada, there being ten or twelve that are between those of the second class and subject to the two aforesaid [first class chiefs].

175 SEVENTH: How Did They Gain Their Authority, by
643 Election or by Inheritance?

623 The command and superiority established by the two
555

[113] 1. For further details about Cota de Maya (Coat of Mail), also called
[551] Ecueracapa (Leather Cape), whose Comanche name was Contatanacapara, see Alfred B. Thomas, Forgotten Frontiers (Norman, 1932), 295-325.

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

[ca. 1786]

aforesaid chiefs has been by election and vote of all the Eastern Nation; [the two chiefs] having [already] made themselves very distinguished in the encounters of war with their enemies, by which they gained the esteem of all their Nation and the following which they have; in the councils that they hold, always their vote decides, and the rest of the Nation does not oppose them.

EIGHTH: What Is the Personal Character of These Chiefs and the Influence That They Have, and Are Able to Have in the Negotiations of the Nation?

As the two great captains previously mentioned have not come to this presidio of San Antonio de Béxar, the governor has not been able to learn their character, but if the experiences of the six lesser captains that have come to the ratification of the peace treaties [are a basis for judging], they are of a generous spirit and have manifested more friendliness to the Spaniards than the captains of the other friendly Nations of the North. It has been observed that the retinue of the chiefs [of the Nations of the North] look at the [Comanche] chiefs with more respect and give them more subordination than they do their own chiefs.

With respect to the rest of the observations that the governor has made of this nation, he has come to understand that it is necessary to treat them with much friendliness and consistency, for they are, in short, of a very sensitive nature and do not accommodate themselves to any harshness. Without compromising the dignity of his office, it is indispensible [that the governor] manifest toward them all love, and make them believe in the governor, for them to behave satisfactorily toward [the Spaniards]; for if they begin to lack confidence, they take many precautions and manifest their vexation; in virtue of which it is necessary that a governor of the Province of Texas, whom they call Father, have the gravest finesse and precautions in dealing with the said Indians, in order to keep them always

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1854-1859) Texas

dolph B. Marcy of the United States Army, and Robert S. Neighbors, representing the Indian Department, were appointed to locate and survey the reservations and, after an extensive reconnaissance two tracts, one of four leagues on the Clear Fork of the Brazos and the other of eight leagues on the main Brazos were located. The site of the Clear Fork or Comanche reservation is on the line of Shackelford and Throckmorton counties and that of the Brazos reservation, used by the sedentary tribes, is in Young county.

Thus did the Indian Department prepare to confine more than a thousand nomadic savages on a reserve of a little more than eighteen thousand acres. Today this land is the home of a few stock farmers and ranchmen and probably not as many as fifty people live on it. Compared with the vast stretches the Comanches has considered as their home this was indeed a parsimonious grant; but the state contended that the Indian problem should be entirely a Federal burden, the cession was regarded as a gift, and Texas was not in a liberal humor. Yet, since the cardinal idea underlying the reservation system was not simply to feed and care for the Indians but to teach them to become self sustaining, it is strange that the Federal Government undertook the project at such an obvious disadvantage. It was to be expected that a nomadic people would take more interest in stock-raising than in farming; but herds could not be maintained on so small a tract and white men soon came and laid claim to the adjoining range. Furthermore, only a small part of the reservation lands were arable. Naturally the wild Comanches were loathe to accept such a cramped environment.

However, some of the Indians were in such desperate straits that they awaited with eagerness the establishing of the reservation. Chief Ka-tem-e-see went far out into the prairies to meet Marcy and Neighbors on their return from the reconnaissance in order to assure them that his followers were ready and anxious to occupy the home they were expecting. Also, it may be observed in passing, that the chief was not at all reticent in talking Comanche politics and describing the different factions that prevailed among the Penatekas (Honey-eaters), or Southern Comanche bands. But soon Chief Sanaco appeared before the commission to inform them

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1854-1859) Texas

that Ka-tem-e-see was an imposter and that he, Sanaco, was the real head of the Comanches.[4] Years of warfare with white men and savages and the struggle for existence incident to this confusion had demoralized the savages and weakened their tribal organization. There was not, in fact, any head chief and there had not been for several years. But these jealousies added substantially to the many difficulties the United States was destined to encounter in its efforts to point these people towards peace and civilization. Pride and independence were virtues these Indians no longer could boast of. Even Ka-tem-e-see begged of the commission corn and meat from their private stock of goods.

When Agent Neighbors returned in November, 1854, to establish the reservation, he found on the Clear Fork large parties of Wacoes, Caddoes, Tawakonies and other smaller bands together with "the whole Southern band" of Comanches, the number of the latter being, according to his estimate, between one thousand and twelve hundred souls. Another council was held and the Indians urged that the Government hurry the preparations for the reservation since they were in a starving condition.[5] But notwithstanding the general eagerness on the part of the Indians about two-thirds of them were not located on the reservation at the time and perhaps half of them never accepted life there because of an unfortunate circumstance which must be charged largely to a blunder of the United States military forces. While some of chief Sanaco's people were at Fort Chadburne, about sixty miles to the southwest, on a friendly trading expedition, they were told by a certain Leyendecker, an Indian trader, that the white people were making plans to attack them and kill them all. "If you want anything more," said Leyendecker to the Indians, "trade quickly, mount your horses, go to Sanaco's camp, and tell him the white people are collecting together to kill him and his people, I see it on this paper; tell him if he wishes to live to go north as quickly as possible—do not eat, sleep or rest, until you give him this talk from his friend."[6]

4. R. B. Marcy, Thirty Years of Army Life On the Border, (New York, 1866) p. 204. See also W. B. Parker, Notes Taken Through Unexplored Texas, 1854 (Philadelphia, 1866) p. 186.

5. Neighbors to Manypenny, Commissioner of Indians Affairs, January 8, 1855. Ms. University of Texas, photostat copy.

6. Hill to Neighbors, August 31, 1855, gives an account of these happenings of January preceding. Thirty-fourth Congress, First Session, Sen. Doc. No. 1, Part 1, 302.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1854-1859) Texas

pede. If Neighbor's estimate of a thousand or twelve hundred souls be accepted as the approximate population of the Southern Comanches, it is evident that not more than a fourth of these Indians were at the reservation when it was established. The two most influential chiefs, Buffalo Hump, a chronic disturber, and Sanaco, destined to become quite as great a rogue, were still at large. Other Indians came in at different times, so that on one occasion there were 557 souls; but 350 or 400 would represent a fair average for the whole period.[9] Evidently many Indians came and left very much at will, in spite of the efforts of the agents to hold them.

It would have been much better if the renegades had stayed away altogether, for their chiefs were jealous of Ka-tem-e-see and frequently connived to supersede him. During the winter of 1855-1856, Sanaco came in, gave up some horses his people had stolen in the country west of San Antonio, and returned to the prairies to bring in his band. He brought in his people according to promise, but soon left because as he alleged, troops were arriving at Camp Cooper and he felt that this would mean that his braves could get whiskey. However, he must have known that his men could get whiskey while running at large even more easily than at the reservation. A more plausible reason for his leaving is that given by the agent, John R. Baylor, namely, that he found he could not supersede his rival, Ka-tem-e-see. His band became even more lawless and was charged with a number of robberies and murders. Once, in jocular mood, the chief sent word by an Indian runner that he would bring his people in if Major Neighbors would furnish him and his people with all the whiskey they could drink. And they would stay, he said, as long as the whiskey lasted!

Buffalo Hump was even more troublesome than Sanaco. He would come in and make many promises stating that he had reformed and was determined to live the life of a good, honest Indian henceforth. But, if the spirit was willing the flesh was weak in the case of Buffalo Hump; and as soon as the agent had made him presents in consideration for his profession of good intentions he would steal away to the prairies to plunder and rob and live

9. The different reports of the agents show numbers as follows: January 1, 1856, 450; September 8, 1856, 557; September, 1857, 424; January 17, 1859, 381; September 16, 1858, 371; October 30, 1858, 341; July, 1860, 382.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

175
551
701
621
[643]

Names of the chiefs with their meaning in Spanish.[31]			Number of Tents.
First with Equeracapa of the division of Cuchanec,[32] or Cuchantica: Buffalo-eaters.			
Equeracapa:	El huerfano, the orphan, and because most notable in war contatanacapara:[33] Grulla en Cruz, Crane on the Cross, known in New Mexico and Texas by the name Cota de Malla, Coat of Mail, the most trusted and universally esteemed chief of the nation, which named him their attorney general for the adjustment of peace in the council of chiefs held for this purpose with the greatest solemnity in their own country, and newly instituted as chief of all of it		100
Tosacondata:	Grulla Blanca	White Crane	10
Tosapoy:	Camino Blanco	White Road	80
Hichapat:	Ardiloso	The Crafty One	10
Paraginanchi:	Orejas de Venado Alasan	Ears of a Sorrel Deer	30
Cuetaninabeni:	El Maltratado	The Maltreated One	20
Quinaneantime:	El Roe a su Amo	He gnaws his Master	11
Sonacat:	Muchos Pimientos	Many Peppers	20
Canaguaipe:	Amugerado flaco	The Feeble Effeminate One	40
Pisimanpat:	Zapato podrido	The Decayed Shoe	10
Toyamancare:	Sentado en la Sierra	Seated on the Mountain Range	15
Tichinalla:	Juega Feo	Ugly Game	20
Second			
	El Chamá de la parcialidad Yupe:	Exchange [34]of the group Yupe	30
Queremilla:	El que hace prodigios, Sacerdote, o Ministro entre ellos:	He who makes miracles, Priest, or Minister among them	6
Third led by Tosacondata			
Huanecoruco:	Zorra de Paño, Cuchanec:	Fox of Cloth, Buffalo Eater	10

[114]

[31] The writer is indebted to Professor Stephan Scatori, Professor of Romance Languages, in the University of Oklahoma, for assistance in the interpretation of the Spanish equivalents of the Comanche names in this Noticia.

[32] Buffalo Eaters is the meaning given to the word Cuchanec or Cuchantica by the Spaniards (Relacion, paragraph 2).

[33] In another place Anza says that this word means: *El sin igual en hazanas militares*: the one without equal in military achievements (Relacion, paragraph 5). The chief's name, Equeracapa, in Spanish means Leather Cape. That hide armor is indicated by this name is apparent here from Cota de Malla, Coat of Mail, the title given him by the Spaniards of New Mexico and Texas.

[34] El Chama may also be translated The Boy. The text here states that this man was entrusted with a letter for the Governor of Texas.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6 (1786)

Tosaporua:	Oso blanco, de la Rama Yamparica:[28]	White Bear, of the Yamparica branch	8
Pasahuoques:	Ladra Ronco, Idm:	Hoarse Bark, Idm	20
	Fourth led by Tosapoy		
Ysaquebera:	Lobo Largo, Yupe:	Long Wolf, Yupe[29]	80
Tuchubarua:	Hozo Paxarito, Idm:	Bear Bird, Idm	9
Encantime:	Savandija, Idm:	Beetle, Idm	11
	Fifth led by Paraginachi		
Pagabipo:	Vasija de Panza, Yamparica:	Basin Pauch, Yamparica	15
Cunabunit:	El que vió Fuego, Ydm:	He who saw Fire, Idm	10
Quahushacante:	Cuero matado:	Dead Hide	8
		Total	593

NOTE

The number of individuals whom they have at their command exceeds at least by a third part that computed by this statement.[30]

. . . . . [31]

It is a certified copy. Janos 13 of March 1788 in accordance with the order of the Senor Commandante General.

Juan Gasiot y Miralles (Rubric)

FOURTH ENCLOSURE[32]

Names of twenty-two other Comanche despatched by Equeracapa to Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza in place of eight whom he asked for

[28] Yamparica, Anza stated, comes from the word Yampa, a species of sweet root which abounds in the country of these Indians (Relacion, paragraph 2).

[29] The word Yupe is also written by the Spaniards, Yupinis and Gente de Palo. The latter may be translated as Stick People or Timber People. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Council, mentioned in this Noticia, which selected Equeracapa as chief of all the Comanche, met on the Arkansas river in a spot called La Casa de Palo or the House of Timber or Stick (Relacion, paragraph 2).

[30] It will be observed that this note is apparently a restatement of the last phrase of the opening paragraph of this Noticia that each tent has about three men of arms. The total number of warriors would accordingly be between seventeen hundred and eighteen hundred.

[31] A list of five chiefs' names, all appearing on the Tally Sheet is omitted here since the Spanish equivalents are not given. Of these five names, three, Salambipu, Encajive, and Piaquegipe, do not appear in the lists of the Noticia or the Fourth Enclosure so that their meanings are unknown.

[32] This list of twenty-two names is a fourth enclosure accompanying the Relacion. The other three enclosures as already noted are a copy of the Tally Sheet, the Noticia, and the Ynforme of Ortiz. (See footnotes 4, 7, and 21 above.)

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

One afternoon in the late 1930s I drove into the little town of Faxon on business for a client. When I got out of the car, I was face to face with Charley Ross. It had been long since I had talked with him, and my happiness at meeting him appeared to be matched by his at seeing me. For a Plains Indian he was truly an old man—somewhere in his seventies. We sat down on the running board of the car, and dusk found us still sitting there. I had forgotten I had a client, and Charley had forgotten that the daughter with whom he lived would be worried about his being out in the raw, chilly evening air.

I had it in mind to ask him many questions about himself, other questions about old Comanche friends of whom I had lost track, and yet other questions about Comanches in general. But he too had questions, and insistent ones. He knew I had become a lawyer, of course, but mostly he wanted to know about my children—for what place in life they had fitted themselves.

When he learned that my oldest son was already a lawyer and the younger son was preparing for law school, he grinned with pleasure. My father was the first magistrate appointed after the opening, and his jurisdiction had stretched for twenty or more miles in any direction. To Charley that meant Dad had been learned in the law. Then I had followed in the law profession, and now two sons were following me. To Charley, this progression was wonderful.

He was equally pleased to match up my daughters with his. My oldest was on the faculty of a small college, and the younger was teaching in a high school. Both his daughters were teachers and had married teachers.

Another Carlisle product who launched himself into the white man's life stream and kept himself afloat was one of Quanah Parker's sons. But then, he had a motive. He was in love.

Chief Quanah Parker's house was about three miles from the little town of Cache, Oklahoma. Some Texas cattlemen had settled him in a kind of apartment house just south of the Wichita Mountains, where West Cache Creek breaks out into the prairie. He was recognized by the government as chief of the Comanches. Like all the older Indians married to more than one wife, he had been allowed to keep his four or five remaining wives. One son was a Methodist minister, one daughter was married to a minister, and two other daughters married well-to-do white men.

The father of the Carlisle son's sweetheart had been a missionary

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Quanah Parker seemed to be the Indian with the greatest influence, and the *Star* and *Journal* had a story of some sort about him in nearly every issue.

They ranged from the story about his white mother's having died of a broken heart when she was captured and returned to her own people, to stories about his physical prowess and his ability as a leader—about how, when once he had led his braves into Fort Sill under arms and surrendered, he had turned his attention to being a leader in peace. Then there was much said of how he had become a business adviser to other southwestern tribes. All in all, the stories painted a picture of a versatile and dedicated leader.

Two of these stories made me aware that the Comanches practiced polygamy. One had to do with the decision of some Texas cattlemen, who had been renting Indian grass from Quanah, that he should have a house. They hauled the lumber from Wichita Falls. They had to ford it across the Red River's quicksand and drag it through the mud of high-banked Deep Red, a total of fifty-five miles as the crow flies, to a site three and a half miles from where the town of Cache now stands, and on the west bank of West Cache Creek. The house could be considered an apartment house. Each of Quanah's wives had an apartment. In addition, there was a general living area.

The other story that stands out in my memory had to do with the Indian Department's efforts to do away with polygamy before the white people actually moved in and set up local government on a county level. Once this was done, everyone would be subject to the Oklahoma territorial law.

The department pinned its hopes on winning over Quanah Parker, the last war leader of the Comanches. Not only was he respected by the Comanches, but he had become a sort of bellwether to the other Indians involved in this opening—the Kiowas, Caddos, Wichitas, and Apaches.

As the department considered this a very minor issue, its officials apparently approached Quanah Parker casually on the subject. They simply explained that the new officers of the local communities would have to arrest any Indian with more than one wife, just as they would have to arrest any white man found with multiple wives.

The solution, they said, was very simple. All the Indian had to do was pick out the wife he wanted to keep and then explain to the others that under white man's law they were surplus and would have to move elsewhere. "You see," they went on plausibly, "if they

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

choose to live on their allotment, the department will fence it and build them a little house. Every six months they will have their Grass Money for living expenses, and they can also lease out their allotment to a white man to farm.

Now Quanah had a question: "How is the Indian to tell which wife to keep and which is surplus?"

"That's easy," the department's spokesman answered. "Keep the one you love the best, the one you have had the longest, maybe the one that has borne you the most children, perhaps the prettiest one, or even the youngest and strongest. Since you can have but one, select the one you want to keep, and tell the rest to go."

It is always well to remember that the Comanches considered themselves as "The People" and were never awed in any company. In addition Chief Parker was proud of the fact that his white mother came from one of the first families of Texas, and I doubt that he ever felt inferior to any man. His reply not only shocked the government men, but sent them scurrying around for another answer to the question.

I think Quanah Parker's answer reached an all-time high in negotiating: "I have had a number of wives. Sometimes a wife dies and I take another to replace her. Once I had seven wives, but now I have only five. Each of my wives I have for a different length of time. Some I have for a very long time. Some for a very short time. I love all my wives equally. I could not call my wives together and tell them, 'Now that the white man is coming, his law says that I can keep but one wife.

" 'White man says I should keep the one that I love best. The rest are surplus and must go and live somewhere else. So this is the woman I love the best, and the rest of you are surplus. You must go and live elsewhere.' This I cannot do. You come to my house. You pick out a wife for me to keep. Then you tell 'em."

This ended the idea of telling Comanche wives that any of them were surplus. There is little doubt that any negotiator suggesting to any Comanche wife that she was surplus would have lived only as long as it took the squaw to cover the distance between them and to use her butcher knife. Nor would the three troops of cavalry stationed at Fort Sill have made any headway in quelling the squaw uprising.

Once Quanah Parker convinced the Indian Department officials that it would be impossible to handle the multiple wife situation as

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

simply as the department heads had imagined, the department and Chief Parker arrived at this sensible solution:

Nothing would be done about men who already had more than one wife, but they were not to take any more wives. Even if one died, a man would have to get along on what wives he had left. All single men would be restricted to marrying one wife. A violation of any one of these restrictions would bring about prosecution under the white man's law.

Among the Indians I knew intimately enough to be familiar with their family lives, I knew of only one who violated this agreement. He was a compulsive drinker, and was about to starve the two-wife family he already had when he took on a third wife. Ultimately he had to move onto the reservation permanently so as to get food, and I lost track of him. His Indian neighbors seemed to be ashamed of his conduct and tried to ignore his existence.

Polygamy had been an economic and social necessity for the Comanches. From the time they entered written history, when they came into contact with the Spanish people of Santa Fe about 1700, until their surrender in 1878 at Fort Sill, their history was one of continuous warfare. They had fought and defeated the Pawnees, the Osages, the Tonkawas, the Navahoes, the Utes, and the Pueblo Indians in New Mexico and Arizona. They had established an inland empire, Comanchería, just as legitimately as Charlemagne established his, and for a time they rode the crest of the horse-buffalo culture. They marketed horses with the Canadian Indians, raided as much as 1,500 miles into Mexico, and had seen the Pacific Ocean. They had stopped the advance of Spain to the north and to the east and that of the French to the west and to the south. Then, in the years of the new kind of warfare which brought about their decline, the United States, the Republic of Texas, the Confederacy, and Mexico were among their enemies. During all this time there was no period when the tribe as a whole was at peace.

In war men die young, and the male-female balance is lost. Continual warfare brought about an erosion of the numbers of Comanche men out of all proportion to the natural losses, through death, of the women. It was only through the custom of polygamy that every woman could have a husband and the birthrate could be maintained.

Then too, there had to be many trained hands to keep a Comanche

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

bedding, underwear, socks and stockings, etc. If there had been six more clerks, we could have used them all. Somewhere near the middle of this selling-buying nightmare, I was aware of a large, tall Indian crowding in front of the Indian I was waiting on. He was taller than anyone else in the store, including myself, though I was approaching six feet. With his large black Stetson hat, well-fitted blue serge suit, blue flannel shirt, and obviously bench-made, high-heeled cowboy boots, he was dressed like a prosperous cattleman.

His copper color and the large braid hanging down on either side of his face onto his chest proclaimed him an Indian—not only an Indian, but obviously one of the Old Fellows. This was my private designation of the Indians old enough to have ridden the war trails. They had to be in their very late forties and upward. None of this group had been to school, nor would they have spoken English if they had known how.

This well-dressed Indian now surprised me by asking in perfect English, "How much do you want for that stove?"

This was the first time we had had a fire in the stove; but the fact that it was the only heating stove we had, plus the dozens of people—men, squaws, children—who had been crowding around it for hours, and were still crowding around it, and then the fact that I was just entered into my fifteenth year, all combined to hit my funny bone. I laughed as I answered him, "It couldn't be worth much of anything. It is just an old stove that came with our claim. But it is the only stove we have to keep the storeroom warm. We couldn't sell it."

With an air I am sure he considered superior, but which bordered more on the arrogant, the way he had been arrogant in crowding in front of the Indian I had been waiting on instead of awaiting his turn, he thrust his hand into his trousers pocket, brought out a wad of bills, and began looking through them.

As he was running through the bills, he continued talking: "You have this good house to live in. My women and children will live in a tent now. They need this stove. You don't. Here, I'll give you $20 for the stove." And he waved a twenty-dollar gold certificate at me.

Realizing how much in earnest this Indian was about the stove, I shook my head, saying, "The stove is not worth anywhere near such a sum. But we need it ourselves. We have a hardware store here now. Have you tried there?"

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

He continued to wave the bill at me as he answered, "Of course. I went there the first thing, when I got to town."

I needed to get rid of this Indian and get back to those that were buying supplies. Only when I had all their wants satisfied would I be able to feed my stomach, which was complaining at the way it was being treated. I tried another way to get rid of him by saying, "The stove is not mine to sell or not sell. It belongs to my father. He is up front on the dry goods side. The bald-headed man. Go talk to him."

Tall as I was, I could watch him make his way to where Dad was selling cotton hose to some young Indian women. I could see he was using the same arrogant tactics he had used on me. He pushed himself in front of the women, holding the bill level with Dad's face. From the quizzical look Dad was wearing, it was taking him a while to realize the drift of what the tall Indian had in mind. When he understood, he frowned, shook his head, and turned back to his stocking customers.

The Indian made his way to the door and left the store.

Searching for a familiar face, I spied the auburn Vandyke of the little preacher from the Dea Mission on Blue Beaver, back to the north and east. He was standing a few bodies away from me. When I was able to make my way to him I asked, "Who was that tall well-dressed Indian that was trying to buy our stove?"

I never knew whether it was disappointment, dismay, or awe as he answered with both caps and quotes in his voice, "You don't know? That was Quanah Parker, the great War Chief of the Comanches."

It took the passage of several years to bring me enough maturity to realize that this was possibly the first request a white man had refused Quanah Parker in many years. It is entirely probable that as little as eighteen months previous to that time, and before this land had been opened for white settlement, had Quanah Parker asked a white trader to sell him his stove, the trader would have drawn the fire, carried the stove out-of-doors, cleaned it of ashes, loaded it on the chief's wagon, and insisted it be accepted as a gift. His goodwill had been a must for many years to anyone doing business in the Comanche area, even though it was business conducted through the Indian Department.

Somewhere around 3:00 to 3:30 P.M., the Indians began hitching up their teams, loading up their supplies and their families, and heading south. In an hour or so there was not an Indian in town. We could

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

115 Choctaw and had served in a Mississippi regiment during the war. He had married a white woman who was a good dressmaker. They decided to see the West from a covered wagon. When they got to North Texas, they began working at the different ranches. His wife would do sewing for the womenfolks, and our narrator would work as a ranch hand.

In due time, they drifted to the Comanche country and worked 643 for Quanah Parker. Chief Parker was running both cattle and horses [231] on his ranch and was in need of a rider. The cowboy's wife sewed for the womenfolks. But Chief Parker was having trouble. A young 643 Texan named Emmet Cox was running some long-horned steers on 593 Comanche graze, and this personable young cattleman was wanting 584 to marry one of Quanah's daughters, named Nau-noc-ca.

Chief Parker was willing, the bridegroom was eager; it was Nau-noc-ca who was holding up the parade. She was a new kind of a Comanche girl to her father. He was chief of all the Comanches, and from time to time he was called to Washington to confer with the President of the United States; but he no longer ruled his own household.

When he told one of his daughters to marry this white man by a Comanche ceremony, she said no. And she kept on saying no. This was something the chief couldn't understand—a no, coming from one of his own womenfolks.

643 Nau-noc-ca had been attending the school for Indians at Carlisle, 593 Pennsylvania, and she was doing her own thinking and planning. 584 177 Somewhere during her schooling she made the discovery that she was her own woman. She had no objections to the bridegroom. It is very possible she was flattered to be the choice of this well-to-do young white man. She had been educated in the white man's school at Carlisle, in the white man's ways. She herself was one-quarter white, and she was marrying a white man. Why shouldn't she be dressed as a white bride would dress, and be married by a white minister? These were her demands.

All the commands of her father, all the pleadings of her intended husband and attempted persuadings by her mother, Wec-ke-ah, went for naught. She had lost all fear of disobeying her father, and her 643 decision was final. A white bride's trousseau, a wedding like a white 593 woman's wedding with a white Christian minister, or no wedding. 585 177 Quanah and the groom surrendered. Our Indian cowboy's wife

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

was told to make a list of the things a white girl would require for a wedding outfit. Consulting at all times with Nau-noc-ca as to her wishes, his wife made out the list, and Quanah sent our narrator, with the money and a packhorse, to Wichita Falls for the wedding finery.

So Nau-noc-ca married her white lover, dressed in all the furbelows and adornments a white girl could have wished, and a white missionary minister performed the ceremony.

"Stranger He Come"

IN THE SPRING of 1922 I found it necessary to spend a weekend at Gage, a small Northwest Oklahoma town. While I was there, an old cowman told me a story about his dealings with Quanah Parker. The old chap said he was a cowboy on the first cattle drive across the Comanche land, in what is now Oklahoma, and he was trail boss on the second herd to cross Quanah Parker's domain. This would have been shortly after the surrender of the Comanches to the Army at Fort Sill in June, 1875, and before Quanah began leasing graze to Burnett and Waggoner, Texas ranchers.

An experienced drover came to the community where his father's ranch was located, wanting to make up a trail herd of stock cattle. That is to say, he wanted a herd of mostly "she stuff"—yearling heifers to old cows—bulls, and yearling steers. He proposed to drive this herd to Wyoming, where there was a market for stock cattle with Wyoming ranchers.

He had made a number of drives to Dodge City, Kansas, and had seen such herds being put together from rejects; cows heavy with calf, cows with calves at their sides, bulls, and steers and heifers too young or otherwise unsuited for the butcher or feed-lot buyers. These herds were being trailed to Wyoming.

My narrator got his job, largely because his father had been the first to sign up cattle for the proposed drive. The drover planned to cross Comanche land, because it would save at least 120 miles—60 east and 60 back west—and to overtake the herd by way of the Chisholm trail. Eight miles is a good day's drive of stock cattle, and this route would shorten the drive at least fifteen days. The drover had recently delivered a herd of steers to the Army at Fort Sill for issue to the Indians, and had met Quanah Parker.

The Chief had agreed, for so many large steers, to let him drive

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

643 along the west side of Comanche land, skirt the west end of the
437 Wichita Mountains (near where the town of Snyder, Oklahoma, is located), and on north to the Washita River and the Cheyenne-Arapaho country.

000 Moving a herd of stock cattle is much slower than trailing steers. Most of the cows were heavy with calf, and they began dropping their calves before the Red River was reached. This called for a calf wagon to haul the calves the first few days of their lives, until they were strong enough to keep up with the drive.

Reaching the river early one afternoon, they put the herd across and made camp on the north bank. The crossing was made just south of the present town of Davidson, Oklahoma. As usual, the cook wagon was stopped with the tongue pointed north, so if it was a cloudy morning they would know how to point the herd. The drover left at daybreak, taking my narrator with him, to find Quanah Parker.

Before leaving, he told his straw boss to drive due north until he sighted the mountains. Then he was to veer east enough to just skirt the west end of the main range. He said there was a sizable creek of clear sweet water flowing due west from the end of the range. It was about thirty to thirty-five miles to the mountains. The straw boss was to hold the herd there and await the arrival of the boss drover.

It was about sixty miles to Fort Sill from the place where they left the herd. Learning at the fort the location of Quanah's camp, they rode there and arranged with Quanah to rendezvous with the herd.

I was told what year this drive was made, but I no longer remember. Harry Drago, in his book *Great American Cattle Trails*, says a herd was put across the river at approximately the same spot in 1877. When a man by the name of Doan, an Indian trader at Fort Sill, learned of cattle being put across there and driven due north, he decided to put in a store on the south side of the river. From then till the end of the cattle drives in the middle eighties, this crossing was known as Doan's Crossing.

The Doans operated their store about seven years—perhaps until 1885. It is estimated that over the seven years several million longhorns were put across the river in the general vicinity of the store. Doan hired men to cut the coarse wild grass along the river and spread the hay on the sand to make a better crossing. As one layer

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

was tramped into the sand, he had another layer spread. He charged twenty-five cents a head for cattle to cross his hay-paved crossing; but much of the time the river was tame, and drovers risked the danger of quicksand to save the toll.

Then too, many did not have the necessary funds. Even twenty-five cents a head for two to three thousand head of cattle ran into quite a sum of money, in a just-after-the-war economy. Doan's store was the jumping-off place; it was the last place to buy supplies until a town in Kansas could be reached; the last place mail could be received or sent; the last place owners could meet up with their herd or issue orders to their drovers.

Later, on the same night when my narrator and his boss joined the herd, they heard Quanah and his young men go into camp a short distance down the creek. At daylight they took a quarter of beef down to Quanah's camp and invited him to eat breakfast at the cook wagon.

By the time breakfast was over it began to rain, but they cut out the seventeen head of big steers promised Quanah, and the Indians started for Quanah's camp. But he left two of his young men to accompany the drive to the Washita River. They were to tell any other Indians who might try to stop the herd that it was paid through to the Washita.

Apparently it was the first time the young Indians had had all the coffee they could drink, and they rode to the chuck wagon soon after it made each stop. Food three times a day was also something new, and evidently they enjoyed the trip. When the Washita was reached, the boss got the stores out and gave each of the young braves a pair of jeans pants and a calico shirt.

Because of continuous rain, they held the cattle for three days at the camp where they met Quanah. The grass was excellent. As my narrator expressed it, "The grama-grass was belly high to a yearling," and the herd was healthy and putting on weight. The trip on to Wyoming was uneventful, and they were able to save nearly all the calves.

A ready market was found for the cattle, and at a better price than had been expected. Some of the cowboys decided to work a while for the ranchers buying the cattle, but this drive had gone so well that my narrator decided he wanted to try his hand at bossing a drive.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

000 As soon as he was paid off, he sacked his saddle and made his way home by way of Kansas City. Part of the journey was made by stagecoach, part by passenger train, and part by mail hacks. He was home sooner than anyone else, including the boss, who was carrying the cattle owners' money. But the cowboy could tell them about what the different kinds of cattle brought.

He started right in securing commitments for a herd of stock cattle to start up the trail the next spring, as soon as graze was sufficient. With his father's backing, he had no trouble securing the 643 609 required number. When he got his herd across the Red River the next spring, he too started for the Comanche chief's camp, and arranged a meeting at the same spot as before.

He said that when Quanah walked into their camp the morning of the rendezvous, he stopped where the rope corral for the horses had been the year before. The old cowman said it was the most luscious weed patch he had ever seen. He was sure every weed known to the Middle West was represented.

643 609 824 Silently, Quanah looked at the weeds for some time, then shook his head, saying, "White man he come. Stranger [weeds] he come. Indian he go."

Of course, the Chief was under the impression that the white man had brought the weeds to Comanche land; but actually the weeds were there all the time--scattered and stunted, choked back by the grasses, under normal conditions. But the horses, in and out of the corral during three days of rain, had completely destroyed the grama and mesquite sod, tramping it into the ground.

000 Weed seeds lying in the matted grasses now were in touch with the rich soil, and they grew and produced a sufficient seed crop to seed the coral ground completely this second year. Of course nothing ate the weeds, as there was an abundance of grass on every side.

Years later, in my time, this land was bought from the Indians and opened for homesteading by lottery. Weeds were not apparent, and many farmers looked forward to farming weed-free soil. But the farmer discovered the weeds were there; once the heavy sod was destroyed, they came on with a rush.

Somehow the weeds had managed a seed crop each year. Each year enough seed escaped the sharp eyes of the birds and seed-eating rodents to settle deep in the mesquite grass mat, preserve their species, and complete the cycle.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

A House for Quanah Parker

In the latter part of 1883 or early in 1884, Texas cattlemen persuaded Quanah Parker, that he should have for his family a house like the ones white men lived in. This was less than ten years after Quanah had led the remnant of a once great tribe into Fort Sill to surrender to the United States Army. It never occurred to Quanah to wonder why the cattlemen could afford to build him a home or to think that it had any connection with their renting tribal grassland from him at much less than its value.

Quanah chose a site for his house on West Cache Creek, soon after the creek left the mountains. The site is about three miles northwest of present-day Cache, Oklahoma. At the time there would not have been another structure from Fort Sill west to Texas, nor from the Wichita Mountains south to the Red River, a distance of forty miles.

The lumber for the house was hauled from Wichita Falls, Texas, an overall distance of sixty miles. The forty miles from the river to the site was mostly a beautiful level to slightly rolling prairie, except for the last seven miles. There the freighters would have touched the edge of the blackjack and post oak area. This scrub timber began where Post Oak Creek was forded.

On many occasions, when I was going to the Grass Money payments, I have used the Post Oak ford the freighters probably used. These payments were often made at the reservation located just west of the town of Cache. Post Oak and West Cache occupy the same bottom in this locality, and the freighters probably stayed to the west side of West Cache.

I have driven freight wagons loaded with lumber over these same prairies, although I was hauling from Lawton instead of to Wichita Falls. I assure you it was no job for a sissy. For the last forty miles of their journey, there would not have been so much as a culvert.

The lumber for Quanah's house, according to my figures, would have made fifteen to seventeen large loads—loads that would have required four to five yoke of oxen, or three span of mules. Assuming the lumber was hauled during the dry summer season, the prairie proper would have presented no problem, as it becomes almost as hard and unyielding as a cement roadway. But the first thirty miles of the journey offered three challenges.

The first, of course, was the Red River. If you catch it at low ebb,

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

30 men, 120 oxen or 90 mules, plus a cook wagon and team and two cooks. I figure twenty days for the outward part of the trip and five days to unload and return to Wichita Falls. Seven days of this time, in my opinion, would have been used up in fording the Red River. It is entirely possible that the freighters found it necessary to unload half of each wagonload for the river crossing. This would have necessitated two trips for each wagon, besides the time consumed in unloading and reloading. Nor have I made allowance for time lost because of bad weather or waiting for streams to run down. I am quite sure the freight cost was much greater than the cost of the lumber at the Wichita Falls lumberyard.

All this is hard to imagine now. When one crosses the Red River at Burkburnett, on a modern highway bridge, and sees the wide expanse of sand, he can easily visualize the freighters' problem. But when he approaches Deep Red Run on a graded and paved highway and crosses the creek itself, he will miss the drama of the undertaking entirely. The creek's watershed has been under cultivation for over half a century, and the depth of the stream's channel is now but a fraction of what it was in those days. There is no longer any evidence of the terraced canyon sides. Timber has been cut away. Even the pecan groves are gone. From the highways I have traveled recently there is no evidence of oxbow lakes. The constant flooding of the creek's bottom has evidently filled the lakes with alluvia. But sixty-odd years ago, when I was surveying from the river crossing north, I distinctly remember having spent six hours, one day, running three miles of line. I crossed Deep Red three times in the three miles. This meant climbing up and down the steep banks and wading the waist-deep red water and mud. When I was discussing my experiences in camp that night, I had to refer to my field notes to find out how many compass settings I had made in the three miles.

643 342 177 Heavy dimension lumber was used in the building of Quanah Parker's house, and it was well-constructed. Part of the house was still in use eighty years later. A few years ago the army took over the area where it stood for additional missile range, and the structure had to be moved.

Apparently Quanah left the planning of the house to his cattlemen friends, specifying only that it "face the rising sun." It was, in effect, an apartment house. Each of Quanah's several wives had her separate quarters, in addition to the general living area. I have never found a

643 342 177

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

statement of how many wives Quanah had at the time the house was built. He had a total of seven from the time the Comanche roll was made out in the seventies until the country was opened for settlement in 1901, at which time five were still living. Prior to the time the rolls were made, he had two Mescalero Apache wives. The name of only one of these, To-ye-yeh, has survived. The two desired to return to their own people, and Quanah consented. There is no record of children born to these Apache wives. 643 595

One interesting story connected with the house is that in the early 1890s Quanah had fourteen stars painted on the roof, including two on the summer kitchen and two on the smokehouse. It seems that during an army maneuver a brigadier general stopped at the house to ask permission to cross Quanah's property. Quanah was mystified by the many stars the general displayed. There were stars on his vehicle, on a flag the vehicle carried, and on the general's collar and shoulders. When he was informed that the stars denoted the general's command of possibly three thousand troops, Quanah decided he, too, deserved some stars, for he had commanded even more warriors than the brigadier. Hence the stars on his roof. 643 342 177 531

Quanah, who was probably born around 1852, died in this house in February, 1911. To-pay was his last surviving wife. She died in 1962, when she was more than ninety years old. She is credited with having said that Quanah's greatness was not that he was able to lead his tribe in the ways of peace, but that he was able to bring about peace and harmony in a household of several wives and numerous children. 643 595